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very careful collation of all three texts, which I may be able to publish some time, and it appears that besides the correction of a few misprints, there were some syllables (very few) absolutely changed; enough to make the text of 1868 a different text from that of 1833.

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NOTES ON BAIST, GRAMMATIK DER SPANISCHEN SPRACHE,² 1906.

The following lines, in their first draught, were meant to serve as a foot-note in an article on the etymology of *duecho*. Baist, Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie VIII, 1 p. 201, makes the statement: "*duecho* ist nur einmal handschr. bei Berceo überliefert, neben sonst einzig vorhandenem regelmässigen *ducho*." I wanted to show that such statements as "nur einmal überliefert," even when made by an authority like Baist, are generally wrong. My remarks having outgrown the space of a foot-note, I beg to publish them here separately. B. § etc. refers to Baist, Gramm. d. span. Sprache,² 1906 = Gröber, Grundr.² 1 p. 878.

1. B. § 20 (p. 887): "nie [steht] *lingua*."

Munthe, Anteckningar, 1887, p. 25, observes: "*i* mot kast. *e i t̃s̃ingua* . . . [BL (= bableliteraturen) *llingua* och *lleng.*, gal. pg. *ling.* . . .]." Menéndez Pidal, Manual,² 1905, § 11, 2: "*lingua* . . . hace en . . . ast. occid. y central *llingua*." Cf. e. g. La Olla asturiana p. 101 *llingua*. In Fuero Juzgo (1815) *lingua* occurs at least three times: pp. 67 V. L. 13 Esc. 1.; 115 V. L. 33 Bex.; ib. V. L. 34 B. R. 1.¹

2. B. § 23: "[es heisst asp.] nicht *cobdo*."

Diez, Et. Wb.⁴ 1 s. v. *Cúbito*; Gessner, Das Leonische p. 10; Menéndez Pidal, op. cit. § 60, 1, claim an Old Spanish *cobdo*. Instances of *cobdo*, *cobdos* are indeed not lacking. Cf. P. Cid

501. Alex. (Janer) 993 (= Morel-Fatio 1021). Fuero de Sepúlveda pp. 67; 94; 105. Espejo (1836) pp. 116; 117. Siete Partidas (1807) 1 p. 159. Prim. Crón. Gen. p. 598 a 18. Libros de Astr. 1 pp. 23; 25; 29; 30; 37; 53. 11 pp. 284; 285. Carlos Maynes (Bonilla) p. 514a. Corvacho (Pérez Pastor) p. 143. In 1534, Valdés, Diál. de la lengua (Böhmer) p. 368, 19, writes: "M[arcio]. Veo en vuestras cartas que en algunos vocablos poneis b donde otros no la ponen, y decis *cobdiciar cobdo dubda subdito*; querria saber porque lo hazeis assi. V[aldés]. Porque a mi ver los vocablos estan mas llenos y mejores con la b que sin ella y porque toda mi vida los he escrito y pronunciado con b."

Cf. also *cobdal* < *cubitale*. S. Domingo (Sanchez) 490 *truchas cobdales*.³ Siete Partidas 1 p. 159 *palo cobdal, que se entiende por de un cobdo en luengo*.

3. B. § 29: "*Fidem* [ist] nur *fed fe* überliefert."

Of the forms *fee*, Tratados de Cabreros (1206) (Esp. Sagr. xxxvi Apend. pp. cxxxiii; cxxxv; cxxxvii) etc., *fey*, Fuero Juzgo p. 60 V. L. 23 Esc. 5. and similar phenomena I shall treat on another occasion.

4. B. § 60: "Alt *la pro*." More categorically Krit. Jahresber. iv (1898-1900) 1 p. 301: "*la pro* (nur so altspan.)." Cf. also Krit. Jahresber. viii, 1. Heft (Dec. 1906) 1 p. 198.

This error has been corrected, in the meantime, by Hanssen, Sobre un Compendio de Gramática castellana anteclassica, Santiago de Chile, 1908, p. 12. Hanssen quotes *pro g. m.* from P. Cid (add 1112 *en nuestro pro*), Berceo, the Bible, Prim. Crón. Gen. (add p. 77a 41 *pro ninguno*), Lucanor, Don Quixote, in the whole fourteen cases. But the instances are much more numerous. Cf. Alex. 358 *el proe* (-1) (= M.-F. 366 *el pro*); 400 item (= M.-F. 408 *el pro*); 719 *Algun proe* (+1) (= M.-F. 746 *algun proe*); Fuero Juzgo pp. 7a *Del pro, ó del danno*; 20a *Del pro ó del dampno*; 21a *el pro y danno*; 147 V. L. 6 Toled. and Malp. 2. *el pro* (Text *la pro*); 153b *el pro* (cf. also V. L. 21). Boc. Oro pp. 87 *el pro e el*

¹ Contrary to Menéndez Pidal, I do not believe that the *i* in *viuda*, *mingua*, *lingua* is due to *umlaut*.

² How does this statement agree with the one in § 52 (p. 905) concerning Leonese *coldo*? Does not *coldo* presuppose *cobdo* just as *delda*—*debda* etc.?

³ Fitz-Gerald, in his edition, writes with *ms. E cabdales*. *Ms. V* (Sanchez) is here, as in other cases (cf. p. xxix), preferable.

danno; 143 *poco pro*; 360 *pro ninguno*; 376 *La pro que ha omne en el oyr con sus orejas es propia para si, e el pro de la su lengua es para los otros*. Buen. Prov. pp. 16 *tamanno pro*; 51 *en cuyos pros*; 57 *pro ninguno*. Calila (Allen) pp. 26, 299 *algun pro o daño*; 30, 431 *enel daño e enel pro*. Espejo pp. 5 *los proes*; 90 *todos los proes*; 384 *todo el pro*; 390 *el pro*; 410 item. Siete Partidas I pp. 25 *al pro*; 35 *el pro*; 44 item; 55 *La virtud et el pro* (however 78 *la virtud et la pro*; 94 item); 162 *el grant pro*; 204 *el pro ó el daño*. III pp. 288 *por cuyo pro*; 289 *otro pro*. Libros de Astr. I pp. 34 *el pro et el danno*; 68 *á nuestro pro*. Concilios de Leon (1267) (Esp. Sagr. xxxvi p. 234) *los prodes*. Berganza II pp. 487 (1274) *el pro*; 489 item; 490 item. Vigil pp. 69a (1274) *el proe comunal*, 121a (1305) *el pro. ó el danno*. Juan Manuel, Libro del Infante (Gayangos p. 306a) *el mayor pro*. Crón. D. Pedro (1779) p. 490, 26 *el pró*. Villasan-dino (Canc. Baena, 1851, p. 114) *al pro*. Canc. d'Herberay (Gallardo I c. 516) *el pro presente*.

5. B. § 84 (p. 914): "im Alex. . . einmal *soy*." ⁴

In the eds. of Sanchez and Janer *soy* appears at least four times: 1542 (—2); 1953; 2049; 2092 (+1). Morel-Fatio, in the corresponding places (1684; 2095; 2190; 2234 (+1)), reads *so*.

6. B. § 85: "Starke Perfekta . . . In 3 (mit Ausnahme von *fué*; je einmal *vie* und *fiz* wahrscheinlich Fehler) [ist] -o der älteren Gestalt von III (*audíut*) entnommen."

a) By the side of *fué*, Baist could have mentioned *dié* (3) (Echo) Ann. Éc. Haut. Ét. 1901, p. 113 note 2. Saroïhandy says: "*Ganeron*, *torneron* ⁵ ont été refaits sur *dieron*. Ces formes ont servi à leur tour pour former les personnes

⁴ According to Baist, Zeitschrift xvi p. 532, all the mss. of Juan Ruiz have "durchweg" *so*, except ms. T. 1330 (= Ducamin 1356) which reads *soy*. But *ssoy* (*soy*) is read ms. S. 76, 173, 317, 460, 465, 1028; ms. T. 1133, 1135, 1360; *son* (1) ms. T. 1435.

⁵ Not noted B. § 82 where, however, *costé* (3) (Ann. p. 113) etc. are recorded. The latter forms are connected by Baist with *betait*, Altspan. Glossen 266 < *vetavit*. That is possible. An old instance is Crónica de S. Juan de la Peña (1876) p. 48 *Remiro* . . . *absentés* (Lat. text *absentavit se*) *del dito Regno*. Still older would be Vida S. Maria Eg. (Janer) p. 318b *Contéles* (sc. Gozimas) *del leyon*. The Barcelona ed. of 1907, however, reads 1431 *Contoles*. Does

correspondantes du singulier: *dié* (cast. *dió*), *gané* (cast. *ganó*), *torné* (cast. *tornó*). Ou bien, faudrait-il considérer *dié* comme le représentant du latin *dedit* (**diede*, **díee* *die*)? . . . I think not, but see in *dié* an analogic form.

b) Koerbs, 1893, p. 58, and Gassner, 1897, §§ 318, 428, have indicated *vie* (3) twice in P. Cid: 1096 *Ya vie myo Cid que Dios le yua va-liendo*. 2439 *Algo vie myo Cid delo que era pagado*, *Algo sos oios esteua adelant catando*, *E vio venir aDiego* . . . Whether Baist has in mind one of these cases or another, *vie* (3) belongs to the impf.⁶ and is not a mistake.

Other examples of the impf. *vía* *vies*, resp. *viés*, etc. are ⁷: P. Cid 2773 *Ellos nol vien ni dënd*

this ed. deserve any more confidence than that of Janer? The editor conceals his name, a procedure against which a strong protest is justified, and which might lead one to answer the question in the negative. At any rate, *costé* may also be due to the influence of *costeron* (Saroïhandy), of *costemos*, cf. Ann. p. 111 *ganemos*, García Arista, Cantas baturras p. 62:

Saquemos el Santo Cristo
pa ver si llovía, maña,
y ahura hay que sacar la Virgen . . . ,

finally of *costé* (1).

⁶ I would not deny the possibility of old *vie* perf. 3, but I deny the possibility of proving it.

Modern *vie* is perf. 1. Andalusian instances are:

Marin III p. 456 Cuando te bie'n la cama
A mi corason de ducas
Se le cayeron las alas.
P. 460 Faitigas me dieron,
Ganas e yorá,
Quando yo bie-qu'á mi compañera
La iban á enterrá.

From *vide* (1): Leyendas mor. I pp. 167; 168 etc. Nuñez Delgado (Gallardo III c. 981). Diego Sanchez I p. 117. II pp. 115 *vide*: *pide*; 174. Lope de Rueda I pp. 94; 313. Autos (Rouanet) I p. 25, 96. Novelas ej. (Leipzig, 1883) p. 31. Quatorze romances judéo-espagnols, Rev. hisp. x p. 600. Marin II pp. 66 *bide*; 143 item. Rimas infantiles, Rev. de Extremadura v p. 62 *bide*.

The latter form is not mentioned by Baist § 85. He has, however, along with -*si* perfects *vise* about which one would like to hear more.

⁷ In Fernan Gonz. (Marden) 97 the ms. has *Vyen se de nuevo* . . . With Menéndez Pidal, Arch. f. neuere Sprachen cxiv p. 251, I prefer *v[e]yen se de n*. José (Schmitz) 11 reads *i nunca mas le vien*: *bien*: *Zarayél*: *xazien*, but Yáçuf (Menéndez Pidal) 21 *i nunca lo beríyan*: *bu'eno*: *Xeyana*: *jazivana*.

More frequently I have met with *vía*, *vías* etc. In Fernan Gonz. 68 the ms. reads *vya lo el diablo*. I see no cogent reason to change to *vio*. Plácidas p. 220 *las gentes que su*

sabien *Raçion*. Prim. Crón. Gen. 586a 26 *et quando los moros vien que los querien matar, quitauanlos a pleito que . . .* Horozco, Canc. (1874) pp. 165b *vié* (3) : *que : fê : fué*. 166a *viedes : avriedes : vedes : abredes*. Autos (Rouanet) II p. 184, 511 *vie* (3). III pp. 308, 351 item. 440, 398 *vien : Moysen*.

Cf. *rie* (impf. 3). Prim. Crón. Gen. 165a 43 *E el menor era tan brauo et tan esquivo de natura, que nunca rie por cosa quel fiziessen. Et el padre era muy alegre, et quando fazien iuegos, riye* (V. L. *rie* N, *rrye* CQ. . .) *mucho*.

c) Of *fiz* (3) I know several cases.

S. Lor. 61 *Fiz el ome bueno man à mano su ida*. The correct reading is without doubt *Fizo*.

Rim. Pal. 150 *Como fis cada vno non se podrá ençelar*. As Knust, Jahrb. VIII p. 369, has no remark on this line, I suppose Janer (copy of the Campo Alange ms.) and the Escorial ms. have both *fiz*. By reading *fizo*, the first hemistich would become a *verso de romance* as the second is. It is also easy to read *fizo* and yet make the first as well as the second hemistich an alexandrine. But is a change necessary? This question involves several other questions and among them this one: Are we allowed at all and if so, to what extent, to surmise that the later poets of the *cuaderna via* have written, by the side of alexandrines, *versos de romance*? For the present I shall refrain from any opinion.

P. Alf. XI 74 *La reyna donna Maria Este mal fis departir*. Baist, Span. Litt. p. 422, asserts: "[Das Gedicht] ist in seiner kastilischen Überlieferung sicher [cf., however, C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Port. Litt. p. 204] Transskription eines portugiesischen oder gallizischen Gedichts." Could *fiz* be a compromise of the author between Port. *fez* and Span. *fizo*?

sennor conoscoian e vian aquel mercador. Santillana pp. 128 *vían*; 345 *vía* (1); 372 item; 380 *vía* (3); 399 *vía* (1); 404 *vía* (3); 430 *vías*. Gómez Manrique II p. 17 *vía* (3). Leyendas mor. I p. 331 *vía* (3). Torres Naharro II pp. 318 *Vías*; 366 *vian*. Valdés, Diál. pp. 377, 12 *vía* (1); 414, 32 *vian*. Horozco, Canc. p. 163b *vía* (3). Primavera I p. 74 *vía* (3). S. Teresa (B. A. E.) II pp. 35b *vía* (3); 79a *vía* (1); 176a item; 199b item. Autos I p. 128, 383 *vías*. D. Quixote I (1605) 12 *vía* (3) (cf. Clemencin I p. 251); 23 *viamos*; 28 *vian*; I (1608) 30 *vía* (3). Marin II p. 137 *bia* (3) (cf. p. 186 n. 17). III pp. 13 *bía* (1); 287 item. Canc. panocho p. 86 *vian*. La Olla asturiana p. 101 *vía* (3).

Cf. *ría* (impf. 3) La Olla asturiana p. 97.

Over against José (Janer-Gayangos) 165 *E mandó que diesen el drecho, así lo mandó fazer, E preçio subido por el que fiz prender*, José (Schmitz) 154 reads *por el cafiz*. Gayangos, as Schmitz explains in a note, "[liess] sich durch die getrennte Schreibung *élka fiz* beirren."

Centon (B. A. E. XIII) p. 6ab etc. *fiz* (3). I mention these cases merely for the sake of completeness, but place no weight on them. Cuervo's assertion, Dicc. I p. li: "*Fiz* se dijo á cada paso en lo antiguo por *fize*, como diz por dice, pero jamás por *fizo*, como á menudo aparece en el Centón" may need modification. On the other hand it seems to me that C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos is likewise going too far when, Rom. Forsch. VII p. 126, she declares with regard to these cases: "[sie] gehören zwar der archaischen Sprache an, sind aber auch heute noch an den verschiedensten Stellen der Halbinsel durchaus volksüblich." One wants some proof.

d) With *fiz* (3) may be compared *estit* (3). Fuero de Avilés (Fernandez-Guerra) p. 102, 72 *estit en sua infirmitate*. Cf. Fuero de Oviedo (Vigil p. 15a) *foe en sua enfermedad*. The spelling *estit* (and not *estid*) may be considered a guarantee that the scribe did not carelessly omit a final vowel. So is *tot* a better proof of apocope than *tod*.

e) Also *quis* (3) is found. Estoria S. Maria Eg. (Knust) p. 321 *mas nuestro sennor non quis*. This story is preserved in ms. h-1-13 of the Escorial Library. The same ms. contains *un muy fermoso cuento de una santa emperatriz que ovo en Rroma et de su castidat*, edited by Mussafia, [Wiener] Sitzungsber. LIII p. 499. P. 508, 14 we have the statement *Et desto vos quiero retraer fermosos miraglos, asy como de latin fué tresladado en françes et de françes en gallego*. However this may have to be interpreted, a great number of Old Galician forms is found in all the parts of the ms. I consider *quis* one of them.

Gassner, § 426, refers for an instance of *quis* (3) to José (Schmitz) 4. The passage reads: *i no quis mas dudar*. Yúguf (Menéndez Pidal) 13, however, has: *non kixo max dudar*.

f) *pris* (3)? Sacrificio 246 *quando priso la lanzada*. Sanchez remarks in a note to the line: "En este verso *priso* debe leerse *pris* por razon del numero, como en otros pasages semejantes se

observa." It is a pity that he has not been more explicit about the "otros pasages semejantes." Until more evidence is brought forward, I shall read *quand* (or *quant* or *quan*).⁸

g) Finally, as *fiz* (3) may be as well the apocopated form of *fizo* as of *fice*, in order to prove the survival of the Latin ending *-it* of strong perfects in Spanish, we need assured cases not of *fiz* (*fez*) (3) etc., but of *fice* (*fece*) etc. Even then caution is necessary. I have found once *feze*: Espejo p. 156 *E otrosi si alguno si (sic) querella de otro al merino, quel feze tuerto* . . . From Baist, Span. Litt. p. 409, we learn that the Espejo was written "unter starker persönlicher Beteiligung" of Alfonso. Supposing that the passage is due to the royal author of the Cantigas de Santa María, it is no great wonder to find the Old Galician form *feze* in the Castilian text. Alfonso uses *feze*, Cant. I p. 38a.⁹

7. B. § 85 (p. 915): "*feci* [flektiert] von 1 und 6 aus . . . *fizo* einmal *fezo*."¹⁰

I have sought for more cases and gathered the following without difficulty: Fuero Juzgo pp. 8 V. L. 29 Camp. and Bex.; 38 V. L. 22 Toled.; 58 V. L. 13 Camp.; 83b; 95 V. L. 34 Camp.; 129a *desfezo*; 147 V. L. 22 E. R. Prim. Crón. Gen. pp. 509a V. L. 42; 546a V. L. 36-40; 614b V. L. 23. Document from ?1273 (Fernandez-Guerra, Fuero de Avilés p. 81). Plácidas pp. 126 *feso* (and so always; the ms. has most

likely *fezo*); 127; 140; 142; 153. Rrey Guillelme pp. 192 *feso* (same ms. as Plácidas); 209; 246. Carlos Maynes p. 504b. The form is probably not Castilian.

* * * * *

Since the above notes were written, I have collected the following additional material.

Ad 2) The form *cobdo*, *cobdos* is frequent in Fuero Gen. de Navarra (1869); cf. pp. 8b, 25a, 50b, 70a, 71b, 78b, 102a, 104a, 128a, 130b, 135b, 140b, 141a. It is still found in Judeo-Spanish, cf. Subak, ZrP. xxx p. 156.

Ad 6a) note 5) With regard to *conte* (3), Prof. Marden writes me (letter of Feb. 1, 1909) that this is the reading of the ms. Cf. also Tomás, Rev. dial. rom. no. 1 p. 116.

Ad 6f) and g) Cf. Crónica de S. Juan de la Peña (1876) p. 15 *Et aquesti prese* (Latin text *cepit*) *en España la provincia de Tarragona*. The editor's work has been severely criticised by Baist, ZrP. II p. 473. From the fact, however, that he adds to *prese* the note "*prisió*" (!), one might conclude that at least in this case he has been careful.

Ad 7) *Fezo* is not limited to the Northwest, as I had thought at first. Cf. Fuero Gen. de Navarra pp. 1a, 13ab, 17a, 73b, 80a, 95a, 141ab. Brutails, Docum. des Arch. de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre (1196-1384) pp. 46; 74; 110. Libro del Principado de la Morea p. 59.

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⁸ Cf. Fuero de Avilés pp. 97 *Quan se tornar acasa* (F. de Oviedo p. 13 *quando*); 98 *Quant li rutgaren* (F. de O. p. 13 *quando*). Razón de Amor (Menéndez Pidal) 21 *quan su amigo uiniere*; 24 *quan comiesse*; 98 *Quant la mia senor esto dizia*; 131 *quant conozco meu amado*; 133 *quant conozco meo amigo*. S. Millan 31 *quand fincar non podieron*. 79 *El Bispo quant lo vío*. 156 *Sant Millan quant la vío*. 410 *quant eran alvergudas*. Prim. Crón. Gen. pp. 391b 7 *quand esto vío*. 437b 28 *Quand esto oyo*. 461a 11 *quand prisiera*. Libros de Astr. I pp. 61 *en uerano quan es el tiempo mas temprano*. Ib. *esto es quan el sol entra en cancro*. Ib. *ell otonno quan entra el sol en el signo*. 80 *Et quand mars et saturno se ayuntan*. Ib. *dos planetas quand son en el signo*. 94 *et quand suben* (sc. las estrellas). Thus still in Graus (Aragon), cf. Ann. Éc. Haut. Ét. 1898 p. 86 *I cuan ya s'en iba su tío*.

In numerous cases where the text has *quando*, the apocopated form is required by the metre.

⁹ Quoted by Lang, Denis p. 133.

¹⁰ If Baist wants "eimal" to be understood here as a temporal adverb, the note is superfluous.

MARLOWE, DOCTOR FAUSTUS 13. 109.

In *Mod. Lang. Notes* for May, 1906, I suggested that Marlowe, in *Faustus* 13. 109, may have written 'Amymone's' for the printed 'Arethusa's.' I had then overlooked the fact that Marlowe was familiar with the legend of Amymone, as is evidenced by his translation of Ovid, *Amor*. 1. 10. 5-8. This, of course, is in favor of my conjecture. Ovid's first four lines are:

Qualis ab Eurota Phrygiis avecta carinis,
Conjugibus belli caussa duobus erat;
Qualis erat Lede, quam plumis abditus albis
Callidus in falsa lusit adulter ave;